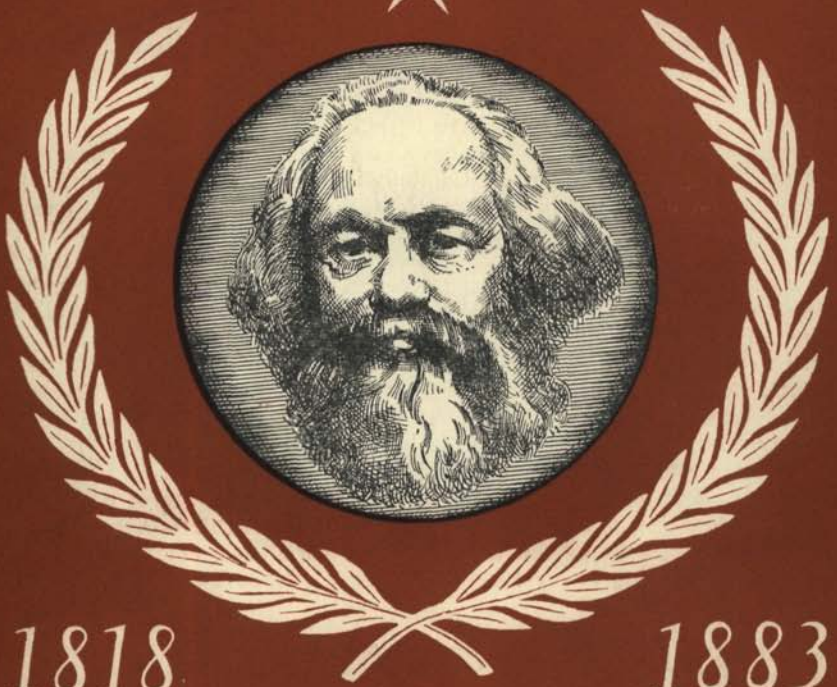
LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

Karl Marx



1818 *1883*

March, 1953

One shilling and sixpence

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STORM WARNING

AS the waters subside from the flooded coast of England and the Netherlands, the victims struggle back—if, as a Canvey Island reader writes, they 'are among the fortunate ones'. Back to wrecked homes or the housing queue. No longer front page news, for the headlines quickly revert to the anti-Soviet slanders; but their sufferings will not be so quickly forgotten by their less unlucky neighbours throughout Britain. Nor can the truth be hidden: that these homes were not defended against the sea because the needed money and materials were cut these last four years in favour of other 'defences'—the defence of those whose profit depends upon war being extended. And so 30,000 British victims of the cold war joined millions whose homes have been utterly destroyed by the hot war in the Far East, to swell the numbers of the world's homeless. And as Eisenhower sends out his orders and his N.A.T.O. administrators to speed the war drive, British merchant sailors in Chinese waters, as they grieve for their families in England's East Coast, note this new storm warning. For the war policy robbed their families of sea defence in Britain to let loose Chiang the pirate against their own ship, the other side of the world. We have, indeed, been warned.

From a ship-building town in Northumberland a reader writes: 'The latest moves by Eisenhower and Co. have shown how right *Labour Monthly* has been. Pity thousands more didn't read those Notes, and there wouldn't be scoundrels like Eisenhower and Churchill in power now. It's a voice for peace and sanity heard above the din and clamour of the war drums'. He has followed *L.M.* for many a year. It is always stirring to hear from those whose warm feeling for the magazine comes from years of testing its value. Among such with whom we have been in touch in the past two or three weeks, I have in mind two Belfast women readers; a Midlands miner whose copy goes around the pit; an Edinburgh 81-year-old, 'a life-long follower of progress', who has 'always found *L.M.* the most engrossing of any similar literature;' two Cheshire co-operators who greet 'the monthly that labours so valiantly to fight the forces that seem succeeding in dragging us into the fiery furnace'. Again, two Glasgow readers say that 'however low our funds we can't do without it. It's been one of our guides for many years and helped on many occasions during the war, and now it's more indispensable than ever in the midst of this mad hysteria of the capitalist press. We've just been reading R.P.D.'s wonderful Notes—an education in itself'. As for the younger generation, a serviceman describes his experiences 'as a member of an occupation army', greeted by 'slogans like "Get out, dirty English"—and I begin to understand what the Yankee occupation of Britain means', he adds. Out of his serviceman's pay he sends a donation in appreciation of the Magazine of International Labour. Then there are those three new readers recruited by a West Countryman: 'one a trade union organiser, the other two working in my factory, including a trade union committeeman'.

Mention of busy circulation-raisers recalls an entertaining family picture evoked by a letter from a Scot: 'For some time I've meant to become a regular subscriber. But when I picked up my February copy and found the subscription-form filled in by my seven-year-old son, that settled it! (Mind,

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Notes of the Month

Marxism after Seventy Years

The teachings of Marxism are all-powerful because they are true.
LENIN.

When Marx died seventy years ago on March 14, 1883, Engels wrote in a letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht on that same day:

> We owe what we are to him; and the movement as it is today is the creation of his theoretical and practical work.

After seventy years that verdict has still more powerful confirmation in the modern world. In 1883 'the movement' was still confined to a few countries, mainly in Western Europe, and the parties based on Marxism had only begun in a handful of cases to advance to a mass basis in the working class. World capitalism was still at the height of its power and had not yet entered the imperialist era of decay and disruption. Today Marxism, carried forward by the teachings, by the 'theoretical and practical work' of Lenin and of Stalin, leads one third of the world; and its close approaching victory throughout the world is universally foreseen, whether with hope or fear, by friend or foe. This is a development within seventy years, within one span of a single human life, without parallel in

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the long record of mankind upon the earth, since man rose from the beast. It explodes, not by mere argument, but by the force of reality, all the tedious commonplace moralising about 'cycles' of history or 'eternal recurrence' or 'illusions of progress' or 'inevitable downfall' which reflect the bankruptcy of thought or hope of the dying capitalist world. It demonstrates that this first all-embracing world science, this unity of science and practice, which is Marxism, this unity of theory with the rising class which can alone transform the world and end class society, is a new force in the world, the only constructive force in the world today which can solve, and is in process of solving, all the old problems—of poverty, ignorance, war, racial conflict, social inequality, helplessness before nature—that have wracked humanity these thousands of years.

It Lives—It Moves

On March 15, 1883, on the day after the death of Marx, Engels wrote to Sorge:

> Mankind is shorter by a head, and the greatest head of our time at that. The proletarian movement goes on, but gone is its central figure to which Frenchmen, Russians, Americans and Germans spontaneously turned at critical moments, to receive always that clear uncontestable counsel which only genius and a perfect understanding of the situation could give. Local lights and lesser minds, if not the humbugs, will now have a free hand. The final victory is certain, but circuitous paths, temporary and local errors—things which even now are so unavoidable—will become more common than ever. Well, we must see it through. What else are we here for?

For twelve years after the death of Marx, Engels was able to continue to provide, through his ceaseless correspondence and contact with the movement in countries all over the world, that 'clear uncontestable counsel which only genius and a perfect understanding of the situation could give'. By the time that Engels died in 1895, Lenin was at the full height of his activity, and Stalin had entered on his revolutionary apprenticeship. By the time that Lenin died in 1924, his closest associate and fellow-fighter over the preceding quarter of a century, Stalin, was able to carry forward and still carries forward, through all the trials and testings of these three decades, the leadership of Marxism to the height of achievement now reached. This succession of four figures of incomparable genius to lead mankind through the most hazardous and critical transition of human development is also without parallel in the historical record. Assuredly there have been, as Engels foresaw, plenty of dubious 'local lights and lesser minds' and also 'humbugs',

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especially in the corruption of the imperialist era, to confuse temporarily and distort the movement. There have been 'circuitous paths, temporary and local errors'. A heavy price has had to be paid, in fascism, in world wars. But the victories have outweighed the defeats. The advance has gone and goes forward. The guttering candles of the 'lesser lights' and 'humbugs', of the Bernsteins and MacDonalds (the reader can easily supply the present-day names), of the myriad 'revisers' and 'refuters' of Marx's 'obsolete theories', have flickered for their brief moment and passed into extinction and oblivion in the merciless light of Marxism-Leninism. The proof of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin has been demonstrated by the event.

From Marx to Stalin

It is timely to recall this estimate by Engels of the role of Marx, not only as the founder of scientific socialism, the theoretical genius, 'the greatest head of our time', but equally as the practical leader, the guide of the whole international movement, the 'central figure to which Frenchmen, Russians, Americans and Germans spontaneously turned at critical moments to receive always that clear uncontestable counsel which only genius and a perfect understanding of the situation could give'. And, in words of classic simplicity: 'We owe what we are to him'. It is timely to recall these words today, when the corresponding recognition of the role of Lenin and Stalin in our era arouses the special fury and reviling from all the pigmies and enemies of socialism, the 'lesser lights' and 'humbugs', who denounce such recognition as 'personal idolatry' which from the heights of their superior Marxist wisdom they are pleased to proclaim as 'wholly alien to Marxism'. Let these gentlemen study the words of Engels on Marx.

History and the Man

Marxism above all, precisely because it is fully objective science, because it understands the anatomy of human society, the role of classes and of the struggle of classes, and therefore the role of the theoretical and political representatives and leaders of the classes in conflict, understands the role of the human being, the person, in the development of society, and not least in the development of Marxism. Marxism is no textbook of ready-made formulas and recipes to be applied by fools. Marxism is a science alike in the field of theory and of action; and precisely because it is a science,

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and all the more because it represents the highest level of science, it requires mastery; and mastery implies a master. For this reason living Marxism finds its expression in the living person, and its highest expression in the 'greatest head', the 'central figure', the 'genius and perfect understanding'—to use the words of Engels—whose theoretical and practical leadership most effectively carries forward the fulfilment of Marxism. And it is a testimony to the vitality of Marxism through all the tides and changes of our era that this very moment of the seventieth anniversary of the death of Marx should have seen the birth of a new classic of creative Marxist genius in J. V. Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, carrying forward the audacious thoughts and vision which Marx could only indicate in prophetic outline to new pioneering heights of fulfilment in the transition to communism.

Foreshadowings of the Future

Marx died before capitalism had passed into its era of imperialist decline and of the general crisis, before the conditions of the victory of the working-class revolution and of the building of socialism, still less of the transition to communism had matured. But with the power of scientific theory Marx saw with unshakable certainty and confidence the future path: the laws of capitalism carrying it forward to increasing concentration and deepening crisis; the advance of the working class to the political conquest of power, to the dictatorship of the proletariat to crush with iron hand the resistance of the exploiting classes and expropriate the expropriators; the construction of socialism, still with the birthmarks of its origins in capitalist conditions, not as the final goal, but as the first stage of communism; and the transition to communist society and the new human being, the new fully free (because fully conscious of natural and social laws) fully developed man and woman of communist society, the final liberation of humanity, the leap of humanity from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. All this Marx foresaw, not when the capitalist world was breaking up around him, not when the working class was already triumphing, and even a Toynbee cannot fail to sense a changing world, but *before the event,* seeing below the surface of the complacent, triumphant capitalism around him, beyond the imaginary immutable laws of the blinkered bourgeois economists and political theorists, beyond the weaknesses of the infant working-class movement, with a prophetic insight of true scientific understanding for which there had been before no parallel in the entire record of human thought.

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And history has proved his insight true. The record of seventy years has *proved* the truth of Marxism. All that we justly celebrate today is but the foretaste of what the centenary of the death of Marx in thirty years from now will assuredly witness.

'Cosmopolitan' Capitalism

Before he died Marx pointed to the new developments of capitalism which were already preparing the way for the era of imperialism. In 1879, in a letter to Danielson on April 10 of that year, he emphasised the significance of the development of railway construction and modern means of communication, the formation of 'immense joint stock companies' and 'banking companies'—all giving

> an impetus never before suspected to the *concentration of capital,* and also to the accelerated and *immensely enlarged cosmopolitan activity of loanable capital,* thus embracing the whole world in a network of financial swindling and mutual indebtedness, the capitalist form of 'international' brotherhood.

(Incidentally Cartoonist 'Vicky', who can sometimes do better, should take due note of this actual opinion of Marx on 'cosmopolitanism', since his cartoon depicting a highly imaginary Marx defiantly proclaiming himself a 'cosmopolitan bourgeois Jew' has been reproduced *ad nauseam* in the *Herald,* and in all the litter of anti-Marxist publications of Transport House in the service of American imperialism.) Marx never failed to draw the sharpest distinction between the 'cosmopolitan' outlook and activities of modern capital, leaping over national frontiers and extending its octopus grip to enslave the world—powerfully demonstrated by British capitalism in his day and still more by the operations of American imperialism today—and the internationalism of the working class.

Colonial and Semi-Colonial Subjection

In the same letter Marx showed how this 'enlarged cosmopolitan activity of loanable capital', with the extension of the railway network and of the operations of joint stock companies and banking companies, carried with it the extending subjection or dependence of a wide range of countries, and especially the intensified exploitation of the peoples of the primary producing countries.

> The commerce in countries which export principally *raw produce* increased the misery of the masses. Not only that the new indebtedness, contracted by the government on account of the railways, increased the *bulk of imposts* weighing upon them, but from the moment every local

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production could be converted into cosmopolitan gold, many articles *formerly cheap,* because invendible to a great degree, such as fruit, wine, fish, deer, etc., became *dear* and were withdrawn from the consumption of the people, while on the other hand, the *production itself,* I mean the special *sort of produce,* was changed according to its *greater or minor suitableness for exportation,* while formerly it was principally adapted to consumption *in loco.* . . . All the changes very useful indeed for the great landed proprietor, the usurer, the merchant, the railways, the bankers and so forth, but very dismal for the real producer.

Marx was speaking here immediately of the effects on the agrarian regions of European countries, but the corresponding process could be still more sharply demonstrated during the following years in the colonial and semi-colonial world. Thus in this rapid note of 1879 Marx was indicating in a preliminary form some of the key forces of capitalist development which were preparing the way for the imperialist era. On the one hand, the increasing concentration of capital, extension of 'immense joint stock companies' and banking companies, and 'enlarged cosmopolitan activity of loanable capital' were pointing the way to the era of finance-capital, with the fusion of industrial and banking capital in modern monopoly capitalism, and the key role of the export of capital. On the other hand, the intensified exploitation of the extending range of peoples, especially of the primary producing countries, brought within the network of the export of capital and heavy financial indebtedness, was pointing the way to the partition of the world by the imperialist powers and the development of colonial and semi-colonial subjection and exploitation in the imperialist era.

The First Decade

By 1893, by the end of the first decade after the death of Marx, this process of preparation of the imperialist era had gone much further. Shortly before he died in 1895, Engels had drafted notes for an article in *Neue Zeit* containing his additions for the third volume of *Capital,* in which he focussed attention on the rapidly advancing partition of the world by the capitalist Powers in the interests of the Stock Exchange:

Colonisation. Today colonisation is simply a department of the Stock Exchange in whose interests the European powers a few years ago divided up Africa. The French conquered Tunis and Tonkin. Africa has simply been given out on lease to the larger companies (the Niger, South African, German South-West and East African); Mashonaland and Natal have been taken over for the Stock Exchange by Rhodes.

The alignment of the Powers for the war of 1914 had begun, with the formation of the Franco-Russian Alliance in 1891 to confront

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the Triple Entente, although Britain had not yet chosen its alignment. Engels had given his penetrating prediction of the prospect of the coming European War, with ten million soldiers engaged, the violation of Belgian neutrality, the halting of the German advance on Paris at the Marne, the development of the war on the Western front to a war of positions, and the outbreak of the Russian Revolution to transform the situation. The Second International had been formed, with the initial guidance of Engels, to unite the socialist parties of the world on the basis of Marxism. In Britain the pioneering work of the Social Democratic Federation had prepared the way for the New Unionism and the first beginning of the upsurge of the working-class movement as British capitalism began to lose its world supremacy before the advance of its German and American rivals.

Imperialist Era and Bolshevism

By 1903, two decades after the death of Marx, the imperialist era had opened, the era of 'dying capitalism', as Lenin termed it, with the increasingly fierce development of the arms race and preparation for war for the redivision of the world. British capitalism, its gathering weakness and isolation exposed by the costly expansionist adventure of the South African war, had moved over to enter into the system of imperialist alliances, first with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and then with the initial advances to France and later to Russia to form the Triple Entente against the Triple Alliance. The approach towards the Russo-Japanese War and the first Russian Revolution of 1905 heralded the entry into the extending series of wars and revolutions associated with the imperialist era. 1903 saw the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party in London and the foundation of Bolshevism under the leadership of Lenin to carry forward the fight of Marxism in the midst of the confusion and corruption generated by imperialism within the leadership of the working-class movement. Within twenty years of the death of Marx the foundation of the Bolshevik Party under Lenin's leadership, whose half-century anniversary will be celebrated this summer, guaranteed the carrying forward of the inheritance of Marx and Engels into the new conditions and the future victory of the working class. In Britain the establishment of the Labour Representation Committee since 1900 reflected the first still hesitant, limited, but none the less significant, steps of the trade unions into the sphere of independent political activity. Ten years later, by 1913, the thirtieth anniversary,

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all the contradictions of the imperialist era, alike of imperialist antagonism and of internal social conflict, were reaching to bursting point and preparing to explode in the war of 1914.

General Crisis

By 1923, on the fortieth anniversary of the death of Marx, the entire world scene was transformed. The general crisis of capitalism had opened with the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution and the loss of one-sixth of the world by imperialism. The world revolutionary wave shook every continent and every country. Communist Parties were formed in the majority of the countries of the world. Equally the wars of intervention and the attempted stabilisation of capitalism in the West failed. The tottering capitalist regime sought to prop itself up on the support of the corrupt Social Democratic leadership, with false labels of 'socialism'. In Britain, now sunk in chronic depression, the old Conservative-Liberal two-party system gave place to the expedient of the first Right Wing Labour Government under MacDonald. This did not prevent the upsurge of the class struggle to the General Strike. As the prop of Social Democracy began to weaken, with the unrest of the working class, and as the temporary stabilisation collapsed into world economic crisis, capitalism began to turn to the desperate methods of fascist dictatorship, already tried out in Italy, in the centre of contradictions in Germany. By 1933, the fiftieth anniversary saw the advent of Hitler and Nazism to power in Germany, and the proclamation of the grand crusade of the Axis against the Soviet Union and Communism, with the backing and support of the Western powers. But the deep conflicts of imperialism rent asunder the intended united counter-revolutionary front in the second world war. By 1943, the sixtieth anniversary saw the epic victory of Stalingrad, which sealed the fate of Nazism and opened a new world era.

After Seventy Years

And now in 1953, on the seventieth anniversary, great indeed is the further transformation of the world. The rate of change has certainly accelerated. In place of the one hundred and seventy millions after the first world war, now eight hundred millions after the second world war have won freedom from imperialism and are marching forward under the guidance of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Once upon a time the critics used to

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proclaim that the teachings of Marxism were applicable only to Western Europe, and could never have any relevance for a vast peasant country like Russia. The early Russian Marxists had a stubborn job to shatter this illusion. After the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution the tune changed. Communism, it was announced, had its obvious natural soil in a backward undeveloped country like Russia, but could never win a hold in the advanced industrialised countries of Western Europe and America. After the further progress of Communism was demonstrated in the development of mass Communist Parties leading the majority of the working class in leading countries also in Western Europe, relegating the minority Social Democratic leadership to a rump, the tune was again changed. Communism, it was explained, was an essentially European doctrine which could have no relevance for the vast majority of mankind in Asia, Africa or Latin America. China has given them the answer. And now Dulles in his first foreign policy statement of January 15 has come out with the panic lamentation that in South and Central America they might 'wake up one morning to find that the same thing had happened as had happened in China in 1949'.

Communism and India

As late as 1927 Harold Laski, whose sublime ignorance of Marxism was only equalled by his incessant readiness to chatter about it, in his anti-Communist book on *Communism* commissioned by the Home University Library (the publishers commissioned a Conservative leader to write about *Conservatism,* a Liberal leader to write about *Liberalism,* the Labour Party leader to write about *Socialism,* and an anti-Communist to write about *Communism*—an example which Laski might with advantage have selected at the outset to illustrate the bourgeois principle of freedom of discussion) dismissed with characteristic contempt the suggestion that Communism could have any relevance for India:

> The effort to read the problem of India in the set terms of Marxism is rather an exercise in ingenuity than a serious intellectual contribution to socialist advance. (Harold Laski, *Communism,* 1927, p. 194.)

In fairness to the smatterer, it should be recognised that Laski, who had read very little of Marx, as his writings revealed, was probably completely unaware of the profound and exhaustive work which Marx had devoted to the question of India (as his Notebooks on India testify) and his numerous writings on the subject, especially the long series of articles in the *New York Tribune.*

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Mr. Attlee's Alarm

That pearl of wisdom was offered a quarter of a century ago. Twenty-five years later the Communist Party of India, with its allies, was winning six million votes and recognised as the main challenging alternative to the rule of the Congress big landlords and monopolists. And by January, 1953, Clement Attlee was racing to New Delhi to proclaim:

> I think there is a great danger that all Asia might fall under totalitarian rule.

By 'totalitarian rule' Mr. Attlee did not of course mean to express alarm over the military dictatorship of Marshal Pibul in Siam or the terrorist dictatorship of British imperialism in Malaya (whose excesses he zealously defended in the same speech) or the measures of American imperialism to rebuild militarist reaction in Japan. The 'great danger' terrifying Mr. Attlee was that all the peoples of Asia, inspired by the examples of the Soviet Asian peoples and the Chinese People's Republic, were visibly advancing to throw off the yoke of imperialism and its reactionary satellites, to end imperialist colonial plunder and take possession of their own countries, and to build their own free and prosperous future through the leadership of Communism.

Frenzy of Desperation

The *delirium tremens* now reached on this seventieth anniversary by the rulers of the remaining shrunken and mortally diseased capitalist world has been suitably demonstrated at the apoplectic centre of modern capitalist concentration in the United States of America. The year of the seventieth anniversary of the death of Marx has seen the inauguration of an Eisenhower and a Dulles in Washington to aspire to the vacated thrones of Hitler and Mussolini, not to mention Kolchak and Denikin, Stolypin, Pobiedonostsev, the Kaiser, Bismarck, Thiers, Cavaignac, the Procurator of the Cologne Trial and all the other valiant slayers of Communism whose brilliantly successful exploits adorn the past century. Eisenhower, in fulfilment of his inspiring motto 'Make Asians Fight Asians' (to which may be added in practice 'Make Europeans Fight Europeans' and 'Make Germans Fight Germans'), has inaugurated his regime with new threats of war in Eastern Asia, new peremptory demands to the reluctant nations of Western Europe to obey the commandments of their transatlantic warlords, new proclamations of the manifest destiny of 'world leadership' of the United States, new denunciations of 'defensive' policies and calls for an

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offensive strategy, and new announcements of the sacred principle that treaties signed by the United States are to be regarded as scraps of paper to be torn up when convenient. This glorious inauguration has certainly aroused alarm in all the Governments of the American satellite coalition, and has given new impetus to the popular revolt against these policies of war.

'Without Soldiers'

Secretary of State Dulles made his inauguration with a wild and whirling television broadcast in which he complained that the capitalist world was suffering from 'encirclement' by Communism. An old word in a new context. Not without reason even the *New York Times* found the language of Dulles comparable to the language of the Kaiser and Hitler in 'the dictionary of aggression'. Dulles surveyed the 'gloomy world situation' for the benefit of his viewers, and what did he see? In Asia? Communism. In the Middle East? Communism. In Africa? Communism. In South America? Communism. And in Western Europe the American 'investment', as he described it, of thirty billion dollars to ensure obedient vassals was in danger of being rendered null and void by the resistance of the peoples. And on top of this came the supreme complaint, expressed in his inaugural statement to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee on January 15:

> The Russians have achieved all these results without using a single Russian soldier. Surely what the Russians can accomplish we can accomplish.

Strange and revealing complaint. The wickedness of these Russians is limitless. How much simpler everything would be if there could be just one single little case of Russian aggression. The American war lords have covered land and sea in every continent and region of the world within their reach with their bombers and their bases, their troops and military missions. They have spread destruction and devastation thousands of miles from their shores. And to their amazement they discover that everywhere the peoples turn against them. They discover that Communism is spreading everywhere 'without a single Russian soldier'. Incomprehensible situation to the mentality of a Dulles. For to him the words of Lenin are beyond his understanding: 'The teachings of Marxism are all-powerful because they are true'.

The New 'Revolutionaries'

And so a new paroxysm of frenzy is generated in the infuriated minds of these champions of the old order. They have discovered

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that all their armies and police and napalm bombs cannot arrest the march of Communism. Everywhere they see the advance of popular revolt against exploitation and subjection, against landlordism, capitalism and imperialism. A brilliant new idea is born in the heads of the American multi-millionaires. 'Surely what they can accomplish we can accomplish'. We, too, announces Mr. Dulles, are going to organise 'revolution'. New-style revolutions—revolutions against socialism, revolutions against national liberation, revolutions to bring back capitalists and landlords and the foreign imperialists. The multi-millionaires have become the new anarchists—the advocates of 'propaganda by deed'. They know how it is done. Not for nothing have they read in their newspapers about 'Moscow gold'. They know it is only necessary to sign a big cheque, hire a few agents, and they will have their 'revolution'. With gleeful pride they announce the 'new strategy'. Now at last they have out-Marxed Marx. So they sign the cheque. They hire their agents. They organise what in their own language they describe as their 'Department of Dirty Tricks' with limitless cash under the direction of Dulles' own brother. The murder gangs are formed and equipped. The saboteurs are parachuted down. But then they begin to discover they have forgotten one ingredient in their recipe. They have forgotten that real revolutions are made by people. As fast as they send in or hire their agents, the vigilance of the peoples who have won their freedom from the exploiters by generations of sacrifice and struggle rout them out and smash them. As they begin to realise this limitation of their loudly proclaimed 'new strategy', the menace increases of the final desperate thrust to let loose major war. Eisenhower and Dulles stand on the brink of these fateful decisions.

Britain in the New World

It is at this moment that the highest opportunity and responsibility rests above all on the British people. The aggressive plans of Eisenhower and the Republicans to extend war in the Far East have aroused universal alarm in Britain. They have aroused no less openly expressed alarm in France, in Canada, in Japan, in all the countries tied to the American chariot, and equally in India, in the Middle East and in all the countries of Asia seeking to free themselves from the imperialist grip and to end the wars of Western imperialist invasion of Asia. But at this historical moment the key lies above all in Britain. The main antagonism of the remaining capitalist world is between

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Britain and the United States; and it is rising every day in every region and in every sphere of policy. If Britain takes the lead for peace against the new war plans of the Eisenhowers and Dulles, the rest of the world would overwhelmingly support such a stand, and the battle for peace can assuredly be won. But to achieve this will require the overmastering pressure of the entire British people, and of the British working class in the first place, to repudiate the servility of the Churchills, Edens, Attlees, and O'Briens, and to compel a new orientation of policy corresponding to the vital immediate economic and political needs of Britain for peace and international co-operation, and for the resumption of national independence and trading freedom. This is the supreme fight that has now opened.

Marx and Britain

Marx throughout the one third of a century of his residence in Britain gave the closest attention to the problems of Britain's development and the British working class. Professor Cole in the latest of his prolific series of diligent narratives of the socialist and labour movement from a reformist standpoint * lets drop the remark:

> One cannot help feeling that after 1848 he (Marx) buried himself so completely in his study of the British records of the early part of the nineteenth century as never to observe, despite his residence in England, what was happening there at any later time. . . .
>
> At all events, Marx in his later writings gave no evidence of any willingness to alter his general theory of capitalist concentration and 'increasing misery' on account of the course of British capitalist developments after 1850.

An odd remark. Odd, not merely in the face of Marx's very active practical participation in British working-class politics, which Cole very inadequately admits. Still more odd, in the face of Marx's voluminous writings, not merely on the general character of British capitalism and British political institutions, but with unrivalled close informed judgement on all the intricacies and ins and outs of British politics during the mid-nineteenth century, as in his articles in the *New York Tribune,* his *Palmerston,* his correspondence and references in *Capital.* But most odd of all that such a remark should be so complacently published *in 1953*—when the whole character of Britain's crisis is beating at the head of every politician and economist and so powerfully demonstrating the correctness of Marx's analysis of 'capitalist concentration and increasing misery'

* Socialist Thought: The Forerunners 1789-1850, by G. D. H. Cole. Macmillan, 25s.

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specifically in relation to the conditions of Britain's development, and so abundantly proving the profound insight of the perspective of the future crisis of British capitalism, after the loss of the temporary world monopoly, which Marx and Engels were alone in revealing in the nineteenth century.

Marx and the British Working Class

Marx understood very well all the special conditions and problems affecting the development of the British working class from the priority of British capitalism and its temporary world monopoly, with the consequent special problems and tactical needs in the evolution of the British working-class movement and the advance to political consciousness and socialism. Marx exposed without mercy the tendency to the development of a 'bourgeois proletariat', laid bare the basis of the labour aristocracy, and fought relentlessly all the narrow backwardness and limited short-sighted outlook reflecting these conditions. But Marx equally never failed to express his deep confidence in the strength and ability of the British working class to overcome these limitations, his admiration of the heroic struggles of the British working class in the past, and his certainty of the future victory of the British working class and of the profound significance of that victory for the whole world:

> The English working men are the first born sons of modern industry. They will then certainly not be the last in aiding the social revolution produced by that industry—a revolution which means the emancipation of their own class all over the world, which is as universal as capitalism and wage-slavery.
>
> I know the heroic struggles the English working class have gone through since the middle of the last century—struggles not less glorious because they are shrouded in obscurity and burked by the middle-class historians.
>
> (Marx on the Anniversary of the *People's Paper*, April 14, 1856.)

On this seventieth anniversary of the death of Marx the fight is indeed opening out for the British working class to save themselves and the future of Britain, and thereby to help to save the future of the world. In the fulfilment of this task, as the deep ferment and battle of policies develops within the labour movement, the teachings of Marx, carried forward in our day by Lenin and Stalin, will assuredly come into their own also in Britain and guide the path to the future victory.

February 18, 1953. R.P.D.

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THE GREAT DISCUSSION

GEORGE MATTHEWS

WHEN Sir William Lawther advised the rebellious delegates at the Morecambe Labour Party Conference to 'shut their gobs', there were some who put this courteous statement down to a rush of knightly blood to the head. Now, however, it is clear that 'Shut Your Gob' is the official policy of the right-wing leadership of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions. In Labour's pioneering days, not only would a criticism in a labour paper of a Trade Union leader for accepting a knighthood have been regarded as normal—it would have been considered remarkable if no such criticism had appeared.

In 1953, in the era of Mr. Morrison's 'New Model Socialism', all has changed. When *Tribune* criticises Mr. Lincoln Evans, the Secretary of a union whose members work in an industry the Tory Government is proposing to denationalise, for accepting a knighthood at the hands of this very Government, the full blast of official disapproval is let loose. 'Disapproval' is too mild a word. According to some members of the T.U.C. General Council, a section of the Labour Party Executive, and the Editor of the *Daily Herald*, *Tribune's* criticism of Mr. Evans constituted a crime against the movement deserving the severest punishment. 'Bevanite bile', 'Mean and malevolent', 'A spiteful attack', 'Mischief making'—these were the dignified phrases of the *Daily Herald* in an editorial headed 'Stop This Sniping'. The attitude of the *Herald* is less surprising if it is remembered that while 51 per cent. of the shares are owned by Odhams, 49 per cent. are owned by the T.U.C., and its four Directors are: Mr. Lincoln Evans, Sir William Lawther, Mr. Arthur Deakin and Sir Vincent Tewson.

'This National Executive Committee strongly deplores . . .' said a grave, solemn statement from Transport House, which went on to appeal to 'all members of the Labour Movement to refrain from making attacks on one another in the press or on the platform'. Taking due note of this appeal, Sir William Lawther immediately gave an interview to the *Daily Telegraph* (was there a protest from the *Daily Herald* at this dealing with a rival firm?), declaring:—

> The opinion of the Trade Unions is that the Bevanite activities are a deliberate attempt to undermine the leadership in the same way as Hitler and the Communists. There is no difference whatever between them.

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Sir Will can now pride himself on having beaten Senator McCarthy at his own game. This is truly a lesson for the left in the Labour Party. The attack is started on the Communists, who are assailed day and night by every means of propaganda as 'traitors', 'foreign agents', 'disrupters', etc., etc. The left in the Labour Party are then described as 'Communists', (i.e. 'traitors', 'foreign agents', etc.). This is as far as Mr. Gaitskell got in his petulant, hysterical diatribe after Morecambe. But some may not regard it as so heinous a crime to be called 'Communists'. Some might even regard it as an honour to be placed in the same category as those who are leading one-third of the world to a new life.

Hence let Sir Will repeat the despicable and indecent Tory trick of identifying the seven million Russians who died in battle in the Second World War with the Nazis, out of whose army, according to Churchill, they 'tore the guts'. Hitler and the Communists are the same. The left in the Labour Party and the Communists are the same. Therefore 'there is no difference whatever' between the left in the Labour Party and Hitler. Consequently all who oppose Sir Will are Fascists. *Q.E.D.*

All this is not some bad joke. It is a counter-offensive against the left in the labour movement which is full of menace to all who fight for peace and unity. For the fact is that those who dominate the leadership of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions are so afraid of the rising movement of opposition to their policy that they are prepared to go to any lengths in undemocratic and dictatorial actions to try to dampen and suppress it. The right-wing attack is not simply an attack on a few individuals or solely due to a clash of ambitious personalities. The issues involved are issues of policy. The movement against which the right-wing offensive is primarily directed is the mass movement, already fighting for a new policy.

The Morecambe Labour Party Conference marked a new stage in this fight. Everything that has happened since then has increased the determination of the rank and file to force a change in policy. All the developments in the economic situation and the onslaught on the living standards of the people underline the need for a great working class offensive to be launched against the strongholds of capitalism. This demand was expressed in the Morecambe resolution calling for a five-year plan based on further nationalisation. It had been expressed before in the resolution of the Margate T.U.C. calling on the General Council to prepare plans for the extension of nationalisation.

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But is there any intention to carry out these instructions of the majority? Are the right-wing leaders who have so often lectured their opponents on the 'great trade union principle that the minority submits to the will of the majority' now going to accept their own advice? It appears not. In the great discussion on future policy now proceeding the right-wing leaders are making clear where they stand. It is reported that at the meeting between representatives of the Labour Party and the T.U.C. to discuss future policy, most of the trade union leaders expressed opposition to more nationalisation. But this attitude is not confined to trade union leaders.

Mr. Morrison, boosted to the skies in the millionaire press as the 'brilliant tactician of the Labour Party', wrote in *Reynolds News* on January 18:

> I think we are in some difficulty to produce in advance a defined list of nationalisations. . . . Therefore I would prefer the *more advanced* policy of giving a broad definition of the reasons that would render industries or services open to consideration for public ownership, and seeking a more general mandate without a specific list. (My italics—G.M.)

Mr. Morrison is so 'advanced' that his policy for 1953 puts the Labour Party back where it was before the adoption of the 1918 Constitution, in which it did at any rate call for 'the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange'.

Mr. Lincoln Evans goes one better even than Mr. Morrison. Referring to the denationalisation of the steel industry, he wrote in *Man and Metal*:—

> We may dislike, but we cannot resent the Government's decision to go ahead with their proposals. . . .
>
> (January 15, 1953.)

From 'no further nationalisation' to 'no opposition to denationalisation' is indeed a short step.

The concern of Labour Party members about home policy is equalled by their determination to fight for a new foreign policy. Nothing demonstrates this more clearly than the British delegation to the Vienna Congress of Peoples for Peace, which included over 50 members of the Labour Party, many of them extremely active local officials of long standing. This fact marks an entirely new stage in the development of the Peace Movement, in which the barriers which the right-wing labour leaders have attempted to erect between the organised peace movement and the Labour Party members are being broken down.

The fear and fury felt by Mr. Morgan Phillips and his friends at this development has been shown by the ruthless and undemocratic

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expulsions of members of the Labour Party which have been carried through since the Vienna Congress. These are a challenge to every true Socialist. How is it possible to tolerate the expulsion of pioneers of the labour movement for the 'crime' of working for peace, by people who refuse to condemn, even verbally, the action of Mr. O'Brien in sending his notorious telegram to Churchill on the eve of his visit of betrayal to Eisenhower? Thousands of Labour Party members are now making up their minds that they can no longer submit to such actions. Symptomatic of this growing mood of determination is the fact that so many of those threatened have stood firm in face of every attempt at pressure and intimidation, even to the point of expulsion, and are fighting back.

> I have worked for peace and brotherhood all my life. In the old days, peace and labour used to go together. We used to be attacked for our opinions, but not by our own comrades. I have been in the movement too long to be told to give up my principles on the order of a man in an office.

So said Mrs. Florence Mattison, who first joined the Independent Labour Party in 1897, stood four times as Labour candidate for Leeds City Council, was made an Honorary Life Member of the Labour Party in recognition of her services, and is now threatened with expulsion from the Party she did so much to build.

But her words are the authentic voice of British Labour. They express the deep conviction and firm determination of thousands of Labour Party members, whom the right-wing may for a time succeed in browbeating, confusing or deflecting, but who will have the final word. The days are gone when the Transport House whip had only to be cracked and everyone without exception came to heel. Now some are prepared to dig in their heels and fight, and the scores who do it today will be hundreds and thousands tomorrow. Those who are standing firm deserve the support of everyone in the labour movement who values the democratic rights which have always been regarded as one of its proudest possessions. Support for those expelled or threatened is a concrete and exceptionally important phase of the whole battle for a new policy. So also is the fight for democratic rights within the trade unions, and against such disruptive acts as the attack on the London Trades Council.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the members of the labour movement want above all else to get this Tory Government out at the earliest possible moment. This is the meaning of the great upsurge of feeling against Mr. O'Brien's telegram to Churchill. Mr. Attlee's statement in India which looked forward to the Tory

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Government remaining in office till 1956, has nothing in common with the outlook of the active members of his own Party. If there are sections of the people who are still confused by Tory propaganda, this is due to the absence of a fighting lead and a real anti-Tory policy on the part of the Labour leaders. Discontent against the Government's policy at home and abroad—on prices, on the Far East, on German rearmament—is growing. The urgent need now is to canalise it into positive directions, and ensure that it is expressed in a manner which can make impossible the continuance of the Tory Government in office.

This can be done if all the left forces fight, and if they fight in unity. It should be realised that the stage has been reached in which, unless the left does do battle, the right-wing counter offensive against it might well succeed in holding back the movement. This is the moment not for keeping quiet, for alleged clever manoeuvres, or for top level intrigues, but for the maximum development of the mass fight in every sphere.

It is also time to understand that the fight cannot be successful without, or against, the Communists. Those who seek to protect themselves by launching attacks on the Communists will find, as others have found before them, that they themselves will end up as the victims of the general atmosphere of reaction and witch-hunting which they have helped to create.

Unity is needed more than anything. But to develop unity, a common policy must be hammered out, in discussion and in the course of the battle. Is there the basis for such a common policy? Yes, there is. An initial basis already began to appear in the decisions and demands of the Trades Union Congress, the Labour Party Conference, and trade union and Co operative Conferences in 1952. It has developed further in the day-to-day fight of the people against the war policy of the Americans, the Tory Government and the right-wing labour leaders. It is not a question of imposing a policy on the labour movement—the movement itself has already been in action on the various issues. What is now needed is to combine these issues in a programme which can unite all the diverse sections opposed to the present disastrous course of events. This is the purpose of the points suggested by Harry Pollitt on behalf of the Communist Party in his *A Policy for Labour*:

At home: Wage increases to meet the rise in the cost of living; increased benefits and pensions for the unemployed, old aged and war disabled; bring down prices by restoring the food subsidies; use labour, materials and

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money to build more houses, schools and hospitals; end the Health Service charges; take over for the people the key industries; cut down compensation for nationalised industries.

Abroad: Develop East-West trade; reduce armaments; sign a Five Power Peace Pact; withdraw British troops from Korea, Malaya, Kenya and Egypt; throw off America's domination of Britain.

If proof were needed of the timeliness of this programme, or of the deep interest in the present discussions on Labour policy, it is to be found in the fact that within a month of publication, over 80,000 copies of this pamphlet were sold.

The great discussion goes on. It must not be left to a few at the top, meeting in secret conclave in luxurious West End hotels or country houses, with the right-wing dominating the discussions. Nor must it be regarded as a discussion which can go on without conclusion for months to come, abstracted from the real world and from action now to prevent that world being blown to pieces. Time is short. Action is needed now. From the trade union branches, the factories, the local Labour and Co-operative organisations, the women in the homes, the youth in their clubs and organisations, the decisive voice in the discussion must come. To ensure that that voice is heard speedily and in overwhelming volume is the duty of all who want the British labour movement to play its full part in the fight for peace and the future of our country.

'IT DID MAKE ME LOOK A FOOL'

'You see, I always reckon to get the Labour Monthly *early so that I can tell the lads. This time I was on night shift and when I called at the agent's I was told "sold out". A fortnight later when they were all arguing the toss I had to ask: "What's it all about?" How they laughed! "You're always telling us", said Ginger "to get the* Labour Monthly: *better practice what you preach in future". So now I'm going to take out a POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION. That way I'll never miss it again.'*

Consult your usual agent: or order from The Manager, Labour Monthly, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3.

(See form on back page).

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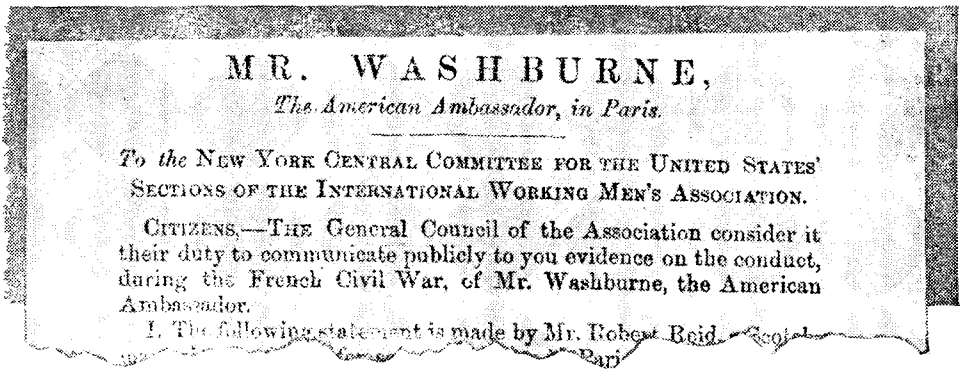
MARX ON A U.S. AMBASSADOR



MR. WASHBURNE,

The American Ambassador, in Paris.

To the NEW YORK CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR THE UNITED STATES' SECTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

CITIZENS,—THE General Council of the Association consider it their duty to communicate publicly to you evidence on the conduct, during the French Civil War, of Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador.

I. The following statement is made by Mr. Robert Reid, Scot[illegible]

Paris

We have been enabled, through the courtesy of the Marx Memorial Library, to print, on this 70th anniversary of Marx's death, the very scarce leaflet issued by the First International on Mr. Washburne's conduct in the days of the Paris Commune, the anniversary of which also falls in this month of March. The issue of this printed statement was unusual: but so, in those days, was the behaviour of the United States Ambassador. It was written by Marx (see Chronik seines Lebens p. 400) and we have marked the occasion by reproducing the beginning and end of the leaflet.—Ed., L.M.

To the NEW YORK CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR THE UNITED STATES' SECTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

CITIZENS.—The General Council of the Association consider it their duty to communicate publicly to you evidence on the conduct, during the French Civil War, of Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador.

I. The following statement is made by Mr. Robert Reid, a Scotchman who has lived for seventeen years in Paris, and acted during the Civil War as a correspondent for the London *Daily Telegraph* and the *New York Herald*. Let us remark, in passing, that the *Daily Telegraph*, in the interests of the Versailles Government, falsified even the short telegraphic despatches transmitted to it by Mr. Reid.

Mr. Reid, now in England, is ready to confirm his statement by affidavit.

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'The sounding of the general alarm, mingled with the roar of the cannon, continued all night. To sleep was impossible. Where, I thought, are the representatives of Europe and America? Can it be possible that in the midst of this effusion of innocent blood they should make no effort at conciliation? I could bear the thought no longer; and knowing that Mr. Washburne was in town, I resolved at once to go and see him. This was, I think, on the 17th of April; the exact date may, however, be ascertained from my letter to Lord Lyons, to whom I wrote on the same day. Crossing the Champs Elysees, on my way to Mr. Washburne's residence, I met numerous ambulance-waggons filled with the wounded and dying. Shells were bursting around the Arc de Triomphe, and many innocent people were added to the long list of M. Thiers's victims.

'Arriving at No. 95, Rue de Chaillot, I enquired at the Concierge's for the United States' Ambassador, and was directed to the second floor. The particular flight or flat you dwell in is, in Paris, an almost unerring indication of your wealth and position—a sort of social barometer. We find here a marquis on the first front floor, and an humble mechanic on the fifth back floor—the stairs that divide them represent the social gulf between them. As I climbed up the stairs, meeting no stout flunkeys in red breeches and silk stockings, I thought, "Ah! the Americans lay their money out to the best advantage—we throw ours away".

'Entering the secretary's room, I inquired for Mr. Washburne. Do you wish to see him personally? I do. My name having been sent in, I was ushered into his presence. He was lounging in an easy-chair, reading a newspaper. I expected he would rise; but he remained sitting with the paper still before him, an act of gross rudeness in a country where the people are generally so polite.

'I told Mr. Washburne that we were betraying the cause of humanity, if we did not endeavour to bring about a conciliation. Whether we succeeded or not, it was at all events our duty to try; and the moment seemed the more favourable, as the Prussians were just then pressing Versailles for a definite settlement. The united influence of America and England would turn the balance in favour of peace.

'Mr. Washburne said, *"The men in Paris are rebels. Let them lay down their arms"*. I replied that the National guards had a legal right to their arms; but that was not the question. When humanity is outraged, the civilized world has a right to interfere, and I ask you

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to co-operate with Lord Lyons to that effect. Mr. Washburne: "These men at Versailles will listen to nothing". "If they refuse, the moral responsibility will rest with them." Mr. Washburne: "I don't see that. I can't do anything in the matter. You had better see Lord Lyons".

'So ended our interview. I left Mr. Washburne, sadly disappointed. I found a man rude and haughty, with none of those feelings of fraternity you might expect to find in the representative of a democratic republic. On two occasions I had had the honour of an interview with Lord Cowley, when he was our representative in France. His frank, courteous manner formed a striking contrast to the cold, pretentious, and would-be-aristocratic style of the American Ambassador.

'I also urged upon Lord Lyons that, in the defence of humanity, England was bound to make an earnest effort at reconciliation, feeling convinced that the British Government could not look coldly on such atrocities as the massacres of the Clamart station and Moulin Saquet, not to speak of the horrors of Neuilly, without incurring the malediction of every lover of humanity. Lord Lyons answered me verbally through Mr. Edward Malet, his secretary, that he had forwarded my letter to the Government, and would willingly forward any other communication I might have to make on that subject. At one moment matters were most favourable for reconciliation, and had our Government thrown their weight in the balance, the world would have been spared the carnage of Paris. At all events, it is not the fault of Lord Lyons if the British Government failed in their duty.

'But, to return to Mr. Washburne. On Wednesday forenoon, the 24th of May, I was passing along the Boulevard des Capucines, when I heard my name called, and turning round, saw Dr. Hossart standing beside Mr. Washburne, who was in an open carriage amidst a great number of Americans. After the usual salutations, I entered into a conversation with Dr. Hossart. Presently the conversation became general on the horrid scenes around; when Mr. Washburne, addressing me with the air of a man who knows the truth of what he is saying—*"All who belong to the Commune, and those that sympathize with them, will be shot."* Alas! I knew that they were killing old and young for the crime of *sympathy*, but I did not expect to hear it semi-officially from Mr. Washburne; yet, while he was *repeating* this sanguinary phrase, there was still time for him to save the Archbishop'.

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Minutes of Council Meeting held on Tuesday evening, May 2nd 1871

Mr. Lessiguet, Bourne, Lessiguet, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Longmaid, Lessiguet, Marx, Pfänder, Robin, Schmitz, Townshend, and Weston. Citizen Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting having been read and confirmed a letter was read from the English speaking section of the United States. It gave a glowing account of the progress the Association was making, and said that an mass meeting had been held in New York, sympathising with the Communes of Paris and the miner Locked out in Pennsylvania. It also stated that the Painters of the State had formed themselves into a Secret Society and many of the Lodges were imbued with the principles of the International. A letter was also read from the Birmingham Trades Council enclosing a subscription of £1.0.0.

Citizen Marx explained that he had been ill and had not been able to finish the address upon which he was engaged, but he hoped to have it ready by Tuesday next. In reference to the struggle in Paris, he said. He was afraid the end was near but if the Communes were beaten the struggle would only be deferred. The principles of the Commune were eternal and could not be crushed, they would assert themselves again and again

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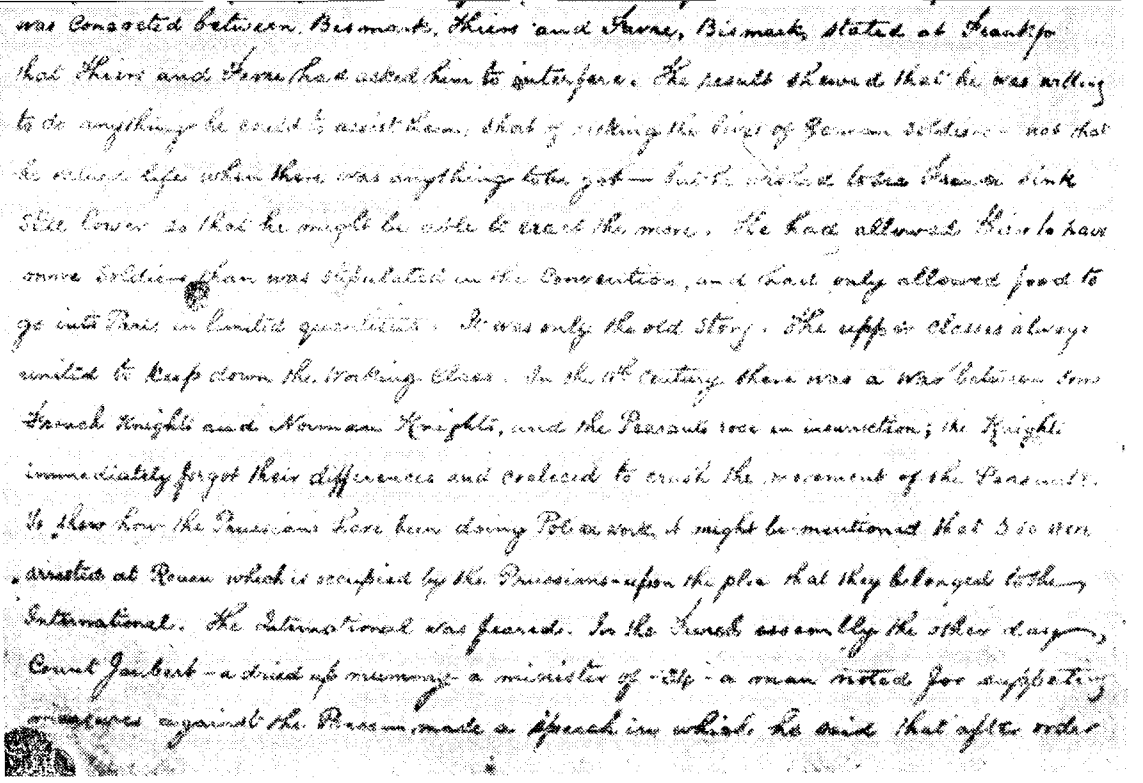

Facsimile of the Minutes of the Council Meeting of the International Working Men's Association, held on May 23rd, 1871, at which Karl Marx was present.

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II. 'On the 24th of May, Mr. Washburne's secretary came to offer to the Commune, then assembled at the Mairie of the 11th Arrondissement, on the part of the Prussians, an intervention between the Versaillese and the Federals on the following terms:—

Suspension of hostilities.

Re-election of the Commune on the one side, and of the National Assembly on the other.

The Versailles troops to leave Paris, and to take up their quarters in and around the fortifications.

The National Guard to continue to guard Paris.

No punishment to be inflicted upon the men serving or having served in the Federal Army.

The Commune in an extraordinary sitting, accepted the propositions, with the proviso that two months should be given to France in order to prepare for the general elections of a Constituent Assembly.

'A second interview with the Secretary of the American Embassy took place. At its morning sitting of the 25th May, the Commune resolved to send five citizens—amongst them Vermorel, Delescluze, and Arnold—as plenipotentiaries to Vincennes, where, according to the information given by Mr. Washburne's secretary, a Prussian delegate would then be found. That deputation was, however, prevented from passing by the National Guards on duty at the gate of Vincennes. Consequent upon another and final interview with the same American Secretary, Citizen Arnold, to whom he had delivered a safe conduct, on the 26th May, went to St. Denis, where he was—*not* admitted by the Prussians.

'The result of this American intervention (which produced a belief in the renewed neutrality of, and the intended intercession between the belligerents, by the Prussians) was, at the most critical juncture, to paralyze the defence for two days. Despite the precautions taken to keep the negotiations secret, they became soon known to the National Guards, who then, full of confidence in Prussian neutrality, fled to the Prussian lines, there to surrender as prisoners. It is known how this confidence was abused by the Prussians, shooting by their sentries part of the fugitives, and handing over to the Versailles Government those who had surrendered.

'During the whole course of the civil war, Mr. Washburne, through his secretary, never tired of informing the Commune of his ardent sympathies, which only his diplomatic position prevented

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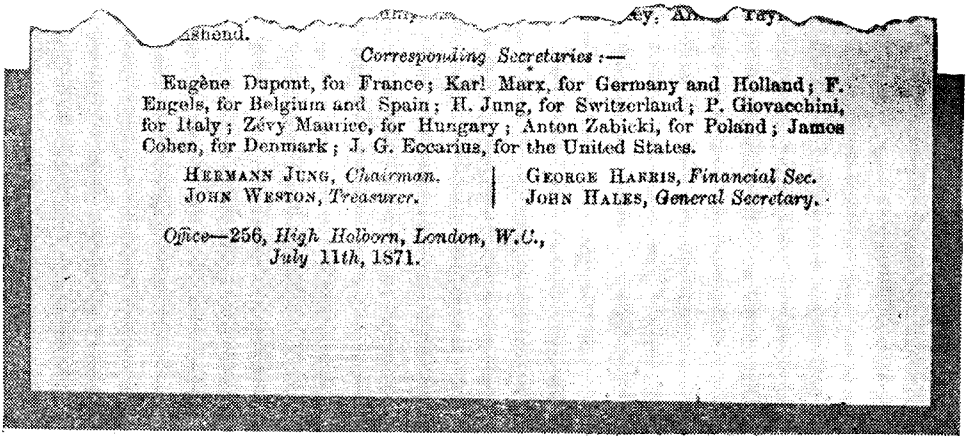
him from publicly manifesting, and of his decided reprobation of the Versailles Government'.

This statement, No. II, is made by a member of the Paris Commune, who, like Mr. Reid, will in case of need, confirm it by affidavit.

To fully appreciate Mr. Washburne's conduct, the statements of Mr. Robert Reid and that of the member of the Paris Commune must be read as a whole, as part and counterpart of the same scheme. While Mr. Washburne declares to Mr. Reid that the Communals are 'rebels' who deserve their fate, he declares to the Commune his sympathies with its cause and his contempt of the Versailles Government. *On the same 24th of May,* while, in the presence of Dr. Hossart and many Americans, informing Mr. Reid that not only the Communals but even their mere sympathizers were irrevocably doomed to death, he informed, through his secretary, the Commune that not only its members were to be saved, but every man in the Federal army.

We now request you, dear Citizens, to lay these facts before the Working Class of the United States, and to call upon them to decide whether Mr. Washburne is a proper representative of the American Republic.

The General Council of the International Working Men's Association:—M. T. Boon, Fred Bradnick, G. H. Buttery, Caihill, William Hales, Kolb, F. Lessner, George Milner, Thos. Mottershead, Chas. Murray, P. MacDonnell, Pfander, John Roach, Rühl, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, Alfred Taylor, W. Townshend.



Corresponding Secretaries:—

Eugène Dupont, for France; Karl Marx, for Germany and Holland; F. Engels, for Belgium and Spain; H. Jung, for Switzerland; P. Giovacchini, for Italy; Zévy Maurice, for Hungary; Anton Zabicki, for Poland; James Cohen, for Denmark; J. G. Eccarius, for the United States.

HERMANN JUNG, *Chairman.* | GEORGE HARRIS, *Financial Sec.*
JOHN WESTON, *Treasurer.* | JOHN HALES, *General Secretary.*

Office—256, *High Holborn, London, W.C.,*
July 11th, 1871.

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ZIONISM

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN

IN 1898 the *Neue Zeit*, chief theoretical journal of the international Socialist movement of the day, discussed the foundation of the Zionist movement at a congress in Basel the previous August, under the chairmanship of Dr. Herzl, author of a statement of Zionist principles *The Jewish State*. The big Jewish capitalists, said *Neue Zeit*—those 'whose "national" feeling ends where their material interest begins' (i.e. those who were part of the big capitalist class in the country where they lived, and whose Jewishness took second place to that)—might help to finance the removal to Palestine of their poor 'coreligionists', but only as a limited act of philanthropy. The Jewish industrial working class, so far as it had socialist ideas 'has no particular confidence in the social side of Herzl's Utopia, and doesn't wish to let itself be torn away from unity with the rest of the fighting proletariat in order to be exploited in Palestine by its "coreligionists" '. Zionism looked for its main support to the Jewish petty capitalists and middle-class intellectuals. Its foreign policy, by which Dr. Herzl hoped to achieve its ends, consisted in 'uttering amiabilities to the Sultan' (Palestine at that time was part of the Turkish Empire). If anti-semitism were to disappear, the real basis for Zionism would disappear too.

Neue Zeit had hit the right nail on the head, in the main. Zionism proclaimed that the Jew, wherever he lived outside Palestine—from which his forefathers (or some of them: for the Jews in all countries are as mixed as the French, Belgians, Germans or Italians) were driven 1,800 years ago—was an alien. So did the anti-semites. Zionism proclaimed 'the return of the Jews to Judaism even before their return to the Jewish land' (Herzl at Basel) i.e. that Jewish exploiter and Jewish exploited, outside Palestine, had far more in common with each other than with their fellow citizens: so did the anti-semites. Zionism proclaimed that the Jewish national minorities in a score of different lands (from advanced capitalist countries like the U.S.A. to patriarchial communities like the Yemen), despite the absence of common territory, speech, economy, or even psychological characteristics, constituted a single nation, with interests distinct from all others: so did the anti-semites.

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Zionism told the Jewish worker not to have anything to do with the socialist movement in his own country, which linked him with the rest of the workers there ('time enough to exercise the right to build socialist parties once the Jewish people are in Palestine', said Herzl in August 1903, at St. Petersburg). The anti-semites told the rest of the workers not to have anything to do with the Jews. In short, Zionism was anti-semitism inside out.

How had this come about? Zionism appeared as a reaction of middle-class Jews against the 'pogroms', or officially-inspired massacres of Jews, which befouled Roumania from the '60's onwards, Russia from the '80's: and against the anti-semitic propaganda, also encouraged by the authorities, which developed in these countries, as well as in Austria-Hungary and Germany, by the end of the century. Indeed what mass support it got came from the terror aroused by the pogroms, not because the miserably poor Jewish workers, artisans, petty hucksters and peasants were moved by national feeling. But what was the origin of all these bestialities? It was the panic of the ruling classes at the growth of socialism and the labour movement: they attempted to use the Jews as a whipping-boy. Furthermore, the Jewish industrial workers in all European countries (in Russia from the '80's onwards) were among the most active in trade unionism and in accepting progressive socialist ideas. Their response to anti-semitism and pogroms was to strengthen their organisation and their links with the general working-class movement in the lands where they lived. As such they were welcomed: Plekhanov, in the first report of the Russian labour movement ever presented to an international Congress (London, 1896), wrote that 'in some respects they can be considered the vanguard of the workers' army in Russia'. But for that very reason the Jewish labour movement was *not* welcomed by the petty Jewish capitalists and Jewish intellectuals wanting a middle-class career. For them Zionism was a heaven-sent way of diverting the Jewish workers from pursuit of their class interests—and in this, too, it coincided with the desires of the ruling classes.

These were the fundamental features of Zionism at its very birth: and they have dominated all its subsequent development. Throughout its sixty years its leaders and spokesmen have licked the boots of whatever capitalist Great Power seemed to serve their interests. Their Basel Congress of 1897 itself opened with a 'resolution of thanks and devotion', suggested by Herzl, to the Turkish Sultan—whose government was just then swimming in the blood of

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massacred Armenians. In 1898 Herzl was seeking the patronage of the German Kaiser: so, talking with the Foreign Minister Bülow, he 'thought it advisable to stress the anti-socialist attitude of Zionism', and in his audience with Wilhelm II himself he got an 'opening for his favourite argument that Zionism would dissolve the revolutionary parties in the Jewish people'. These quotations are from Herzl's Zionist biographer, Bein. In 1903 Herzl was trying to enlist the favours of the Russian Tsar: so he visited Plehve, the Russian Minister of the Interior, and suggested that Zionism would combat socialist ideas among the Jewish youth in exchange for Tsarist support (Herzl's *Diary*, published in 1922-3).

After October 1905, when Tsardom replied to the revolutionary General Strike by organising pogroms, the Russian Zionists denounced the Jewish workers who took part in the socialist movement, and in some towns (Bobruisk, Belostok, Slobodka, Amdur, Siedlowice) Jewish petty capitalists under the influence of these denunciations actually organised *Jewish* 'Black Hundreds' and their own pogroms against Jewish socialist workers. When the present Zionist bourgeois rulers of Israel organise pogroms today against the progressive and Communist workers who are protesting against servility to Wall Street and attacks on the socialist states, they are only reviving a fifty-year-old tradition.

Of course the Zionist leaders of the present Israel Government call themselves 'socialists' even though the State of which they are the caretakers protects capitalism and not socialism, in Israel, by its laws, police, army, spies, diplomats, propaganda, etc. But this is an old trick too. We have seen that Herzl himself advised Russian Jews in 1903 to postpone forming socialist parties until they got to Palestine. This was not completely practical advice, since the great mass of the Jewish workers in Russia were accepting socialist ideas. But the Russian Zionists did the next worst thing. They organised a number of parties—'Zionist Socialists' (1904), 'Jewish Socialist Labour Party' (1905), 'Territorialists' (1904), 'Poalei Zion' (1906)—which differed in minor details, but all agreed in separating the Jewish workers from all others, and in telling them that the struggle for socialism was hopeless until they emigrated to some other territory or country and set up a new state—which of course must begin as a capitalist state (the Poalei-Zion leader Borochov even developed an entire theory about large-scale capitalism developing in Palestine and thus promoting the class struggle there better). Thus these 'proletarian' Zionists helped the bourgeois

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Zionists just as the latter helped the ruling classes and anti-semitic propagandists, in Russia and elsewhere.

No wonder the Russian Social Democratic Party Executive (comprising both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks) unanimously refused in July 1907 to include the 'Zionist-Socialists' and 'Poalei-Zion' in the Russian delegation to the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart that year: and that the International Socialist Bureau elected by the Congress, at its meeting in October, 1908, refused to recognise them as affiliated bodies (Lenin, *Works*, 4th edition, vol. XV, p. 220).

Up to the first world war, the Zionist propaganda had not been very successful in promoting Jewish emigration to Palestine. But in the course of that war the Zionist leaders found in the British Government a more favourable imperialist patron than the Sultan, the Tsar or the Kaiser. British imperialism wanted to break up the Turkish Empire from within, and in 1917 the Balfour Declaration promised the Zionist leaders a 'national home' in Palestine, as a 'mandated' colony of the British Empire. Jewish emigration, stimulated by big capital investments in Palestine, increased. In 1921 there were only 80,000 Jews and 600,000 Arabs: by the end of 1938 there were 424,000 Jews and 916,000 Arabs. By this time, too, even the most loyal service by the Zionist leaders as 'a little loyal Jewish Ulster in a sea of hostile Arabs' (Sir Ronald Storrs, *Orientations*) had not prevented a fair amount of British intrigue with the feudal Arab States themselves—with the consequence that the coming of the second world war found Arabs and Jews in Palestine at each other's throats, and a British police state holding down both.

The frightful massacres of the Jews in the Nazi-occupied countries of Europe from 1939 to 1945 proved a powerful recruiting agent for Palestine among the survivors. By 1946 there were 600,000 Jews there, and today there are 1,450,000—with a national minority of 120,000 Arabs: many hundreds of thousands of other Arabs were driven out of the country. In the course of the second world war the Zionist leaders had shifted their allegiance once again to the highest bidder—American imperialism, with hundreds of millions of dollars to invest—and when the new state of Israel was set up in May 1948, after bloody and protracted armed struggles, Jewish millionaires in the U.S.A. took over in practice the leadership of the world Zionist organisation and *liaison* with the rulers of the new state, lending them $100 million—a sum which by the end of 1952 had (with grants) been nearly trebled.

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The Soviet Union, with the object of ending bloodshed, proposed in May, 1947, that the United Nations should recommend a dual-nation democratic state in Palestine, or, failing that, separate states for Jews and Arabs. In doing so, its spokesmen always made it plain that they were concerned for the fate of the 'Jews in Palestine' —as well as of the Arabs—and were not giving support to the Zionist pretension that Israel was to be the 'national home' of Jews throughout the world. The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies established diplomatic relations with the new state as they would with any other state, capitalist or feudal, which wanted peaceful and friendly relations with them. When they gave material support to Israel, during the 1948 hostilities with the Arab States (which were incited by British imperialism to attack Israel), it was to help the Jewish people living there to defend themselves, not as backing for Zionism. As Ilya Ehrenburg wrote in a famous article in *Pravda* (September 21, 1948):

> In adition to invasion by Anglo-Arab hordes, Israel knows another invasion, less noisy but not less dangerous—by Anglo-American capital. . . . It is not representatives of the workers who head the State of Israel. We have all seen how the bourgeoisie of the European countries, with their great traditions and their ancient statehood, has betrayed national interests in the name of the dollar. Can Soviet people expect the Israeli bourgeois to have more conscience and foresight than the bourgeois of France or Italy? Hardly . . .

Ehrenburg was right. The bourgeois Zionist rulers of Israel, not satisfied with maintaining capitalist exploitation in their own country, with national oppression of the Arab minority, have harnessed themselves in the service of the dollar. Their diplomatic missions have served the ends of American and British espionage in the countries of socialism. Their official spokesmen have incited the most savage hatred of the U.S.S.R.—the country which, by its victory at Stalingrad, signed Hitler's death warrant and saved millions of Jews from destruction. Just as Herzl, in his *Jewish State,* promised 'Europe' that the Zionist state in Palestine would be 'the outpost of civilisation, stemming the tide of barbarism', so now his worthy successors are appealing to the U.S.A. to treat them as 'the focal point of Western influence in the Middle East' and 'a better base for meeting Russian aggression than Egypt' (*Daily Telegraph* New York correspondent, reporting a visit of the Israeli Ambassador to the State Department, February 12, 1953).

The Zionist leaders of this and other countries have rushed into the press to attack the Soviet Union for arresting a few degenerate

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middle-class professional men whom thwarted class hatred of socialism (thwarted Zionism for some) has led into terrorist activities on behalf of Wall Street. They, too, are only repeating ancient history—the history of the Jewish petty capitalists who licked the boots of the murderers of Armenians and Jews, and who in 1905-6 sided with the Tsarist police against socialist workers. Zionism in 1953, as sixty years ago, is an enemy of the Jewish working people. The Jewish workers who support its policy of betrayal and adventure, whether in Israel or in Britain, are unwittingly doing themselves the gravest injury. There is but one road to freedom for the Jewish workers in Britain, just as there is but one road to safety from the dangerous situation into which the working people of Israel have now been dragged by their rulers. It is the struggle for the victory of socialism over capitalism, for people's democracy, for the victory of working-class internationalism over bourgeois nationalism and Zionist racialism.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

RE-BUILDING CAPITALISM?

The fact of the capitalist decline in Britain is now universally recognised; it is the commonplace starting-point of every economic and political discussion. Seven years ago the bankers, economists and politicians were all advocating the return to 'pre-war', to 'normalcy', after the 'unsettlement' of the war, as their definition of the problem. The *Labour Monthly* at that time was almost alone in insisting that there was no question of the possibility of a return to 'pre-war'; that the war was not the cause of the crisis, but only an accelerating element in a deeper process, of which the war itself was only a symptom and effect; and that there were more permanent factors affecting the British situation, which would only increase, and not diminish in force, with the passage of years. Today, all this has become a commonplace: it has become the theme of bankers' speeches, of Liberal industrial reports, and of labour leaders' profound and statesmanlike surveys. The real issue today is different. It is no longer necessary to show the fact of the decline; by now this stares in the face of the dullest. But what has happened is that the decline, now that it can no longer be denied or minimised, is used and emphasised, not as a proof of capitalist bankruptcy and the necessity of revolutionary reconstruction, but as an argument for the necessity of rebuilding capitalism, joining hands in the common task, and abandoning, or at any rate postponing, policies of Socialism or class struggle.

From *The New Wave of Wage Struggles*, by R.P.D., Notes of the Month, March, 1928.

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IMPRESSIONS OF CHINA

Education

BENJAMIN FARRINGTON

I HAVE spoken in former articles of the new intense democratic life in the small units of local government in the Chinese villages and in the streets and side-streets of their towns and cities. This demands literacy. There were 8,000 volumes in the village library we visited. The street council had a committee to encourage literacy and newspaper-reading. How are they succeeding in this campaign and what are the steps they take?

First and foremost, and as an indication of the good-sense with which the Chinese tackle their problems, it is important to say that the Chinese, while they intend to liquidate illiteracy, do not look upon the mere ability to read as in itself the most fundamental part of education. It is something which is very important for a country which intends to industrialise itself. But if it should be achieved at the expense of the craftsmanship, so widely spread in their country which has escaped the tragedy of capitalist industrialisation, it would not be an unmixed blessing. Was it not Chairman Mao himself who gave a warning of the danger of over-estimating literacy in his delicious contrast between the simplicity of learning to read and the difficulty of killing a pig? China aims to produce literate *workers,* not unemployable cinema-goers and comic-strip addicts. Literacy under socialism and literacy under capitalism are not the same thing.

To be literate in Chinese one needs a knowledge of at least some 2,000 characters. It was natural that the question should be raised whether China should not devise for herself a phonetic alphabet. The decision has gone against that solution. The Chinese characters are understood over the whole area of China and serve as a means of unifying that vast country, for they are a kind of picture-writing, which conveys its meaning direct to the eye. But Chinese speech is not the same over the whole area of China. Inhabitants of different provinces are not necessarily able to converse. It would be a grave disadvantage to reduce the written language to the same diversity. The problem has accordingly been tackled in another way, namely, to simplify as much as possible the acquisition of the necessary 2,000 characters. A fresh analysis has been made of the characters, a fresh method has been devised of teaching

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them, and it is now claimed that an intelligent young adult can acquire the 2,000 characters in three months.

To the visitor it seems clear that literacy is going ahead by leaps and bounds. All the members of the People's Liberation Army learn to read and write. Every effort is made to bring education within reach of the intelligent peasant or worker. Small books of the strip-cartoon type, but conveying fundamental information on the progress of the revolution and the meaning of the common programme on the new institutions of democracy, on land reform, on marriage reform, on the war in Korea, and hundreds of such topics, are turned out by the million and quickly circulated. They are on sale in every street. They are on sale on railway bookstalls, which have no attendants, but where the purchaser helps himself to his choice and slips the price in paper-money through a slit into a box. In the Palaces of Culture, which are the characteristic features now of Chinese towns, all the new titles are on display. Thither come the literature secretaries from the committees in the streets and alleys to inform themselves of what is available and to report back to their committees. One way or another the books are circulated and read. Meanwhile, of course, the children are not forgotten. Making adults literate is a temporary emergency policy. In the future the children will all learn to read in school. It was splendid to see eleven classes of children at school in the village we visited, and splendid also to see a secondary school being built to meet the new demand for education at this level for Chinese peasants. The consequences for mankind will be very great, for what is taking place is not only an extension of literacy, but an education of a new type to match the new society that is in the making.

The novelty of the education is not, of course, something peculiar to the Chinese. It is the characteristic of all socialist education and has been developed chiefly in the U.S.S.R. It is the consequence of putting the productive work necessary to maintain the life and well-being of society right in the middle of the picture as the first concern of government and of the citizen. It recognises the duty to labour for the common good with hand or brain (or most fruitfully and happily with both) as the foundation of the moral life, and it refuses to divorce the necessary labour-process from the cultural life of society. It was most moving to observe this new ideal transforming the old life of China. It is the heart of the ideological remoulding which one encounters everywhere. It is

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the subjective aspect of the immense co-operative effort to rebuild China from the foundations up.

I say one encounters it everywhere. Take this snatch of conversation as an example. A group of British visitors on a train are talking to a Chinese interpreter. 'We'll be in Shanghai soon, and you'll be able to visit your people, Miss X. You come from there, don't you?' 'Yes, but I'm not sure that I'll visit my home'. 'But why not?' 'Well, we're all ashamed of father'. 'What's wrong with father?' 'Well, you see, he owns house-property and he's living on the rent'. A long-drawn O-o-h from the British visitors as the enormity of the crime sinks in. 'Yes, he's living on the rent, and even mother won't be able to stick it much longer'. 'But is none of your family on father's side?' 'Only one brother, and he's not much good'. 'What's wrong with him?' 'Oh, he's a loiterer'. 'A loiterer?' 'Yes. He's always going to American films and behaving like a cow-boy'. 'So he's the only one to stick up for father'. 'Well, even he doesn't do it so much now. Even he is getting a better attitude to his work'.

'Getting a better attitude to work' is a key phrase to unlock the spirit of the new China. Even in Peking gaol our lawyers found, not only that every prisoner was at work in one or other productive enterprise, but that the basis of the direct instructional effort at reform was to point out that, while thieving or running a brothel might have had some excuse in the old China, there can be no room for such activities in the new. Right at the other end of the scale, when we met the novelists and essayists and poets in a forum on cultural life in the new China, the emphasis was all on the need for the artist to have a community sense, to enter into the life of his time, not to turn in upon himself but out towards his fellows. A most engaging poet with a humorous eye, rejecting the suggestion that a sense of obligation to the community would induce a man to work without inspiration, said 'I'm a poet. That's my job. Well, I haven't written a poem for the last six months. But I don't look hungry, do I?' He meant us to understand that the Chinese community was not so fatuous as to expect a poet to clock-in and sing for an eight-hour day. Then he added with simplicity and force: 'A man, or an artist, may develop his personality in either of two directions and I don't say he'll lose it in either case. He may turn in on himself or out towards his fellow men. But as I see it, this is the distinction between good and evil. The first is evil and the second is good'.

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So it was that in Peking University we found the Professor of Sanskrit (a remarkable man, we thought him, who had begun his career by devoting himself to the languages of Western Europe and spoke English excellently) engaged also in the practical task, so eminently characteristic of the new regime, of solving the literacy problem for the thirty millions of non-Chinese people on Chinese territory, who speak over a hundred different tongues.

But such problems do not only find one solution in China. The attack is made from every angle. So there was in Peking a remarkable new university for the Fraternal Peoples. It was a new structure, and its auditorium had a seating capacity of 1,300 which gives an indication of the number of students. The student body was drawn from the different Fraternal Peoples, and they came to Peking, not for a few weeks, but for years of serious study. The intention is that they should learn Chinese and simultaneously, through that medium, acquire a modern education; then, that they should return to their own people and transmit the instruction to them in their vernacular. In that way the task of educating the backward peoples will not have to wait the necessarily slow solution of the problem of creating so many different scripts.

On the problem of spreading higher and technical education among the mass of the Chinese themselves the attack was likewise being made from more than one direction. In older universities short-term courses have been arranged to meet the needs of specially able workers or peasants. In Britain, so far as my experience goes, the solution found for the problem of the worker who has missed the normal age for entry to a university is to give him an easy entrance examination and then require him to sink or swim in the ordinary courses. In Peking University they had worked out a special three-years' course under control of a separate staff to bring a student of this sort up to the level of those who had enjoyed the full six-years' course in some secondary school. The course was given in the university, as a place more suited to the age and ambition of the student. On completing this course the student goes off into agricultural science or engineering or polico-economic studies for his degree.

What has been described above, however, represents only the contribution of the older type of university to what is essentially a new problem. On a far larger scale is the work of the new People's University. This institution, so far as Peking is concerned, is temporarily housed in what had been the War Office under the

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Manchu dynasty—a particularly fine building in fact, but not suited for its present purpose, and the new building is actually going up. The People's University is a response to the challenge constituted by the fact that in the new China the proportion of industry in the national economy has risen sharply from 10 percent. to 30 percent., and is due for another steep rise. This new type of institution might be called the lever by which China will be raised from a backward agricultural country to an advanced industrial state. At the moment the students in Peking number over seven thousand, of whom 80 percent. are men and 20 percent. women. That is a proportion that will change as Chinese women take advantage of their opportunities. Of the total 5,600 are undergraduates, 1,600 post graduates. The purpose of the training, which is 25 percent. cultural, 25 percent. political and 50 percent. vocational, is not to turn out ordinary professional men or teachers, but the new type of man required to supervise the immense construction works now being undertaken all over China. The principles on which the teaching is based, according to what the Chancellor told us were two: To learn from advanced Soviet theory, and to gear instruction to the needs of construction.

Finally, there is a feature of education in the new China not yet described which deserves a word. Readers of Kalinin's studies of communist morality will remember the simple skill with which he develops the theory of that morality by relating it to the actual history of the growth of revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary courage in the oppressed classes. 'Proletarian morals were moulded in the course of the workers' everyday life—in the factories, mills and workshops'. Our Chinese comrades have taken those words to heart; and in the People's University and in the Palaces of Culture there are Museums of the Revolution, Museums of the struggles of the proletariat and the peasants. It is the socialist equivalent of the bourgeois 'deeds that won the empire'. It is the strong foundation for a better way of life.

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TRIALS AND THE PRESS

PAT SLOAN

EVERY time a conspiracy is discovered against the Soviet State the capitalist press sets up a howl that it is 'fantastic', a 'frame-up'. Every time the conspirators are tried, foreign eye-witnesses are forced by the evidence before their eyes to admit that it is not fantastic, not a frame-up. Ultimately with the passage of time, it becomes generally accepted that the Soviet Government did, in fact, nip a conspiracy in the bud.

The recent announcement of the doctors' plot discovered in Moscow has so far run true to form. Echoing the national press the whole local press has joined the hue and cry: 'farcical' announces the *Yorkshire Evening Post,* 'Russian Enigma' says the *Bootle Times,* 'The Big Lie' booms the *Birmingham Gazette,* the 'Moscow Mystery' proclaims the *Northern Despatch,* while the *Wolverhampton Express* disserts on the 'Perils of Life in Russia'.

Even the theme of anti-Semitism is not new. We had it all in the 1930's when a number of the accused were Jews. I note that in my *Russia Without Illusions,* published in 1938, it was necessary to point out that 'working-class Jews—for example, the Kaganovitch brothers—are being promoted at the same time as Jewish counter-revolutionaries are being shot'. Just as today, Ilya Ehrenburg receives a Stalin Peace Prize while doctor-conspirators are to be brought to trial.

It is worth while recalling some of the outstanding experiences of the behaviour of the press in the past on these occasions; for it will certainly illumine the present.

When in 1933 the Metro-Vickers engineers were arrested, the British Government itself declared them innocent, and set the tone for the national press. But at the trial itself was a liberal *News Chronicle* journalist called A. J. Cummings, who daily sent home an objective report of the trial. He finally summed up his impressions thus:

> Allowing for all reasonable objections that can be directed against the form and character of the indictment I defy any fairminded person to read it through without acknowledging that the Soviets had produced a *prima facie* case for public enquiry.
>
> (*The Moscow Trial,* Gollancz, 1933, p.100.)

After hearing the evidence, he added:

> I personally am no longer left in any doubt of the reality of the wrecking practices in Russia. (Ibid, p. 181.)

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Returning to the subject in the *News Chronicle* on May 21, 1937, in *My Greatest Story*, Cummings recalls how: 'in the early hours of the morning the British Embassy rang me up at my hotel and then called upon me in person' to protest at his reporting. He adds: 'What was not excusable was the way in which the British press reported the actual proceedings of the trial. The misrepresentations and suppressions were a scandal to British journalism.' Today, alas, the Foreign Office would see no cause to wake up A.J.C. at 2 a.m. His comments on Soviet affairs are now in line with the misrepresentations and suppressions he then so ruthlessly condemned.

In the late summer of 1936 came the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial, which was again heralded in most of the British press with the same allegations of fantasy and frame-up. But here again, the eye-witnesses were convinced. Even *The Observer* on this occasion, when it was all over, had to admit: 'It is futile to think the trial was staged and the charges trumped up. The Government's case against the defendants is genuine.' (23.8.36). And Sir Bernard Pares later wrote in the *Spectator*:

> As to the trial generally, I was in Moscow while it was in progress and followed the daily reports in the Press. Since then I have made a careful study of the verbatim report. Having done that I must give it as my considered judgement that if the report had been issued in a country X* . . . the trial would be regarded as one which could not fail to carry conviction. (September 18, 1936.)

A few months later came the trial of Radek, Sokolnikov and Piatakov. Maybe the Press had by now learnt to await events? Not on your life. 'Incredible' proclaimed the *Manchester Guardian*, 'These charges are fantastic' declared the *Daily Herald*. 'Is it some kind of mass hysteria?' asked the *News Chronicle*.

But again, the trial itself had a sobering influence. By January 27, 1937, the *News Chronicle* was reporting an important diplomatic eye-witness as stating:

> As a lawyer and a judge of many years' experience I have acquired the ability, generally, to tell accurately when the accused are telling the truth. I am convinced that these people are telling the truth.

And the *Daily Herald* on January 28, published a full report from Dudley Collard, observing the trial on behalf of the National Council for Civil Liberties. He declared:

> I attended the opening session with many stories of Soviet 'frame-ups' in my mind. . . . Now that I have listened to the four days' examination

* i.e. anywhere but the U.S.S.R.

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of the accused men, who have all pleaded guilty without reservation, I can say without hesitation that I am convinced of their guilt.

Even the champion anti-Soviet correspondent of the period, A. T. Chollerton of the *Daily Telegraph,* finally wrote:

It seems to me established that several of the leading accused did carry on clandestine and seditious correspondence.

Of this trial the U.S. Ambassador, Joseph Davies, wrote to the Secretary of State on February 17, 1937:

I have talked to many, if not all, of the members of the Diplomatic Corps here and, with possibly one exception they are all of the opinion that the proceedings established clearly the existence of a political plot and conspiracy to overthrow the government.

(*Mission to Moscow,* p. 39.)

Then came the third in the list of the great public trials of the late thirties, the trial of Yagoda and others, including, incidentally, a medical conspiracy. This time even the hard-boiled American journalist Walter Duranty had no doubts: 'Earlier doubts and hesitations were now dispelled', he tells us in *The Kremlin and the People,* 'because one case after another, especially, I believe, the case of the "Generals", had gradually filled in the picture which was so hazy and incomplete at the time of the Kirov murder.'

Then came the war. And on both sides of the Atlantic the fact that the Soviet Government had truly eliminated Hitler's potential Fifth Column became fully recognised.

During and after the purge and executions of 1937 it was obvious to everyone living in Russia that a serious situation had arisen. But, looking back today, one must admit the efficiency of the Ogpu. Russia's secret police were the first to discover the potential menace of the Fifth Column and the danger presented by a growing Quisling party which was keeping in close touch with Germany.

(*Daily Telegraph,* June 26, 1941.)

Ambassador Joseph Davies in the U.S.A. wrote about the same time:

In re-examining the record of these cases and also what I had written at the time . . . I found that practically every device of German Fifth Column activity, as we now know it, was disclosed and laid bare by the confessions and testimony elicited at these trials of self-confessed 'Quislings' in Russia.

(Re-quoted from *The Great Conspiracy,* Sayers and Kahn.)

The *Manchester Guardian,* faced with the unity of the Soviet people in face of Nazi attack, revised its views on September 15, 1941:

The behaviour of Russia gives most people a new insight into Russian politics. . . . A people which can so exhibit its mettle compel some revision of the judgements passed by the West on its institutions.

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Lord Beaverbrook, in a message to America, spoke of the U.S.S.R. in a way which is particularly topical today:

> Racial persecution? Not at all. Jews live like other men. There are many races in the Soviet Union and not even a colour bar.
>
> Political purges? Of course. But it is now clear that men who were shot down would have betrayed Russia to her German enemy.
>
> (*Daily Express,* April 24, 1942.)

And Lieut.-Colonel Sir Thomas Moore, M.P., in a message to *Russia Today* of February, 1943, in honour of Joseph Stalin:

> By the purge in 1937 of disloyal elements in the army he relieved his country of the Quislings which have led others to disaster.

And the Rt. Hon. Oliver Lyttelton, M.P., while Minister of Production, was reported in *The Times*:

> Perhaps Hitler believed that the Soviet Union would crack when he attacked it, but when the blow fell it rang on true metal. There was no flaw anywhere, no fifth columnists greeted his advancing men, only the hidden partisans.

In face of this volume of wisdom after the event, it is perhaps permissible for me to quote once more from what I wrote in *Russia Without Illusions,* published in 1938:

> On Soviet territory people have been shot for playing a part almost exactly similar to that of Franco in Spain or the 'hooded men' in France. . . . If my interpretation is correct, then the Soviet Government has saved itself from a similar fate as that of Spain and that which is threatening France, and it has strengthened itself tremendously against the forces of Fascist aggression.

Those remarks, written in 1938, proved correct; and as has been shown, their correctness subsequently received confirmation from a surprising variety of authorities.

Today the U.S.S.R. is faced with a similar conspiracy. But this time it is not primarily organised from Germany, but from the U.S.A. And in the Mutual Security Act, with its $100,000,000 a year being ostentatiously spent on subversion in the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies we have an open confession by the arch-conspirators themselves. Moreover, so foul are the methods used that even James Reston in the *New York Times* has written of the 'Department of Dirty Tricks' in charge of the spending of that money. So let the Press shriek 'fantastic' and 'frame-up' and 'anti-Semitism'. We've had it all before. But the facts will show, as they have shown before, that drastic steps must sometimes be taken by a Socialist State against capitalist conspirators and their tools. This time, as before, the U.S.S.R. is rooting out a Fifth Column, and the world camp of peace and socialism will be all the stronger as a result.

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PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY IN COUNTRIES OF THE EAST

Report of a conference held in the History and Philosophy Department of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., at the Institute of Oriental Studies. (Continued from last issue).

5. The question of the non-capitalist path of development in its application to China and India.

In the course of the debate the question arose of the possibility of applying to China and India the concept of the non-capitalist path of development. A. N. Stadnichenko considered that non-capitalist development means direct transition from pre-capitalist forms of economy to socialism, and raised the question whether one can correctly speak of the non-capitalist development of the Eastern people's democracies with reference to China and India, since capitalism existed and continues to exist in these countries. Braginsky and Heifetz disagreed with this way of posing the question. Explaining the Marxist concept of the non-capitalist path of development and expounding the main propositions of Lenin and Stalin on this question, Braginsky declared that Stadnichenko was confusing two questions—the question of the non-capitalist path of development (the path of avoiding the capitalist stage of devolopment) and the question of permitting capitalist relations to exist in some form or other, predominantly in the form of State capitalism.

The order which exists in the Eastern people's democracies tolerates capitalism, but this has nothing in common with the capitalist path of development. The path on which the people's democratic countries have set out is the non-capitalist path of development, the path of development towards socialism by a special path, by the path of permitting capitalism to exist as a social form.

Heifetz also opposed Stadnichenko's view that one cannot apply the concept of the non-capitalist path of development to all the Eastern countries. According to him, the non-capitalist path does not mean that the country setting out on this path does not know capitalism at all. It only means that the capitalist form is not the predominant one in the given country. That is how things are in China, and that path is also possible for India, although it would

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be ludicrous to deny the development of capitalism in both of these countries. The presence of capitalist relations does not mean that a country cannot take the road of non-capitalist development.

6. The question of the growing-over of the people's democratic revolution into the socialist revolution.

Speaking on this question, G. B. Ehrenburg said that today, in the conditions of the victory of the revolution in China, the theoretical questions of the growing-over of the revolution have been more or less clarified. The main pre-requisites for the growing-over—the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, the building of communism in the U.S.S.R., the building of socialism in the countries of people's democracy in Europe, the hegemony of the proletariat and the leadership of the Communist Party in the people's democratic revolution in China. All this conditions the absence of prospects of capitalist development in China. With the help of the countries of socialism, and in the first place of the Soviet Union, the development of China will proceed in the future along the socialist road.

In connexion with the problem of the growing-over of the revolution, Ehrenburg raised, in relation to China, the question of the role of the middle peasant in the period of transition to the building of socialism, and the question of the form in which the growing-over will occur—peacefully or by way of armed struggle of the proletariat. On the first question, Ehrenburg thought that there was no reason to suppose that the alliance between the proletariat and the middle peasant, who already in the first stage of the revolution has the proletariat and its Communist Party as his leader and has received the land from their hands, will not grow still stronger in the future. These circumstances give grounds for thinking that, in the special conditions of the future socialist revolution in China, the question of neutralising the middle peasant will not arise.

On the question of the paths of growing-over of the Chinese revolution, Ehrenburg said that, having come to power in the first, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal phase, the proletariat, passing on to the second, socialist phase of the revolution will not have to face the necessity of seizing power, of carrying out a new, second revolution.

The growing-over, in the conditions of the Chinese revolution, will be a prolonged process of gradual transition through a number

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of intermediate phases to the socialist revolution. The growing-over not only will not mean the need for a revolutionary overthrow of the existing authority, it will take place under the directing influence of this authority; the policy of the government will change, and also its programme and its very nature. This transformation will be reflected not so much in changes in the composition of the government, at least not only in the departure from the government of certain parties, groups, persons, etc. (which probably will occur), as in the principal form of changes in the programme of the government and changes in its policy—in the fact that the proletariat will now be carrying out its proletarian task, the building of socialist society.

In conclusion, Ehrenburg expressed the desire that the institute of Oriental Studies should arrange a debate on some other theoretical questions, particularly the questions of the stages of the colonial revolution in the light of Comrade Stalin's statements on the stages of the Chinese revolution.

Questions of the growing-over were discussed also by other comrades. In particular, Martynov declared that the transition of people's democracy from the bourgeois-democratic stage to the socialist stage is not accomplished smoothly but by way of bitter struggle with the temporary fellow-travellers who abandon the revolution.

In his concluding remarks, Zhukov said that although the main propositions of his report had been adjudged correct by the majority of speakers, the discussion had nevertheless shown that certain of his propositions needed to be made more precise, more specific and developed further. First and foremost, place and attention must be given to the common processes of evolution of people's democracy in the East and the West so that it may then be possible to compare its development here and there.

Speaking of the different socio-economic levels in the countries of people's democracy, it is necessary to analyse this question and to give a comparative review of the industrial development of these countries and in particular of the development of the working class, so as to clarify fully the role of the latter as the hegemon of the united front. Consequently, also, a brief characterisation of the concept of the non-capitalist path of development should be included in the report. The non-capitalist path of development exists today in all the economically backward countries of people's democracy in the East. This does not mean that elements of

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capitalism are not to be found in China or in Korea; not only do they exist, but it may be that they will grow during a definite period of time (e.g., in China). But, forming a definite social form (one of several), they will never draw China on to the path of capitalism and will not create a capitalist formation in China. In this is precisely the meaning of the existence and development of the people's democratic order. People's democracy in the East means a path which guarantees a non-capitalist, or, more precisely, socialist development.

Speaking on the special origins of the people's power in Mongolia, it is necessary to mention that in the M.P.R. there was no national bourgeoisie and therefore the problem of the people's front was quite different from that in China, Korea and Vietnam. This does not mean, however, that the people's democratic authority in Mongolia is qualitatively different from that in the other countries of Asia.

Zhukov mentioned a number of disputable elements in Zlatkin's contribution, viz:—

(i) The statement that the question of building socialism in the M.P.R. is already near to practical solution. Leninism teaches us that the first real step toward socialism is the industrialisation of the country. Although the progress of industrial development in Mongolia, with the aid of the U.S.S.R., has been great, can one say that the existing level of industrial development could support the passing over of the main mass of the herdsmen to the path of collective economy? With a number of documents to support his view, Zhukov showed that it is still too early to speak of the construction of socialism in Mongolia.

(ii) The characterisation of people's democracy in Mongolia as peasants' soviets.

Reviewing the people's power in Mongolia in the period of 1927-1940 (when there was still no proletariat), Zhukov said that a peasants' government cannot exist for long unless it is led by a working class or a bourgeoisie. The entire meaning of the teaching on the non-capitalist path of development is that the working class of the country of victorious socialism takes upon itself the leadership of backward countries with a population of peasants. In Mongolia, the sustained, disinterested aid and ideological-political support rendered by the U.S.S.R. provided the Mongol people's

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government—'peasants' soviets'—with the necessary proletarian leadership. Because of this continuous friendship and alliance with the U.S.S.R., the people's revolutionary authority in Mongolia, under the leadership of the Marxist People's Revolutionary Party, was not a 'peasants' government' even in the earlier period, but carried out the functions of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

Likewise, Zlatkin's statement about the possibility of the victory of a 'purely' peasant people's democracy in a country lacking a proletariat is disputable. Zhukov mentioned a number of mistaken propositions in Zlatkin's contribution in particular his denial of the community of interest on the basis of anti-imperialist struggle which links together all the countries of the non-Soviet East and makes them allies of the Soviet Union.

Having mentioned that many contributions contained valuable points, making more precise, developing and correcting particular statements in his report, Zhukov once again dwelt upon the question of the experience of the Chinese Revolution, saying that it would be foolish to minimise this experience. Its importance was exceptionally great. It should not, however, be turned into a fetish and looked upon as universally valid for all situations which might occur in the various Asian countries.

Zhukov stated that it was impossible in the time available to settle all the questions raised. As a result of the discussion, however, it was possible to make a sort of inventory of the problems connected with people's democracy in the East, assessing the importance of each and the degree to which it has been studied.

The discussion which took place on the basis of Zhukov's report made it possible to establish the fundamental features of people's democracy in the East, both those shared with the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe and those special to the East, and to define the stages of development of the people's democratic regime which are common for East and West.

In the course of the discussion the content of the concept of the non-capitalist path of development was made more precise and the doubts held by some comrades as to the possibility of applying it to the development of such countries as China and India were cleared up. The question of the importance of the experience of the Chinese Revolution for the development of the national-

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liberation movement in other Eastern countries and of the ways of correctly applying this experience was discussed broadly on the basis of much concrete material.

Touched on but not sufficiently discussed were the questions of the period and circumstances of the rise of the people's democratic regime and of the growing-over of the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

The discussion showed the enormous interest taken by Soviet orientalists in theoretical and practical questions of the national-liberation movement in the East and revealed the great importance of these questions for the correct understanding of the character and prospects of the struggle for people's democracy in the Eastern countries.

The discussion also showed the need for further work on a number of questions, and particularly for a deep study of the specific situation in each of the countries of the East, which is necessary for an understanding both of the peculiarities and stages of the struggle for people's democracy and of the nature of the people's democratic regime which will be set up as a result of the victory of the people in each country. The scientific working-out of these questions is one of the most important tasks of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and of the other institutions for oriental studies.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS

Employment and Production. Shipley N. Brayshaw. Society of Friends. 42 pp. 2s. 6d.
America Over Britain. Philip Bolsover. Lawrence & Wishart. 124 pp. 5s.
Socialist Thought: The Forerunners. G. D. H. Cole. Macmillan. 346 pp. 25s.
Not Like This. Jane Walsh. Lawrence & Wishart. 444 pp. 7s. 6d.
Rumanian Summer. Jack Lindsay and Maurice Cornforth. Lawrence & Wishart. 152 pp. 5s.
Betrayed Spring. Jack Lindsay. Bodley Head. 416 pp. 15s.

PAMPHLETS

The U.S.S.R.: 100 Questions Answered. Soviet News. 120 pp. 1s. 6d.
New Ideology of 'Democratic Socialism'. Ajoy Ghosh. 24 pp. 9d.; The Middle East in Ferment. Gopal Thakur. 34 pp. 9d. People's Publishing House, Bombay.
On the Indian Trade Union Movement. S. A. Dange. Communist Party of India. 66 pp. 1s. 6d.
Colonialism in Africa. T. Ganesh. People's Publishing House, Bombay. 14 pp. 6d.
The Dangers of Rearmament. D. N. Pritt, Q.C. British Peace Committee. 24 pp. 1s.
International Law and Asian Peace. Daniel Latifi. Blitz Publications. 26 pp. 6d.
Cry From Greece. League for Democracy in Greece. 16 pp. 6d.
A Month in Rumania, 20 pp., 6d.; British Firemen in Rumania, 24 pp., 9d. British Rumanian Friendship Society.
The Children are our Future. National Committee for the Defence of Children. 12 pp. 6d.
Poems from Clydeside. Communist Party Scottish Committee. 20 pp. 6d.
The Polish Co-operative Movement. British-Polish Friendship Society. 36 pp. 6d.

CORRECTION: The last eight words of paragraph 2, page 65, should have read 'to be sentenced to the gallows at Nuremberg'.

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there hadn't been any mention of filling it in.) Herewith the sample of his handywork and a postal order. More power to you in your splendid effort'. And more power to the laddie, say we: what a circulation-raiser he's going to make! But the financial pinch makes it a struggle for some readers to find money for six or twelve months at a time. One wrote asking us to keep him on the records although he was too short to renew, due to 'financial incapability, as in many other working-class families with small children. But I'll make it by the end of the month'. (He did, too.) It is the same story everywhere. *From Hampshire*: 'Six months' sub. is all I can manage this time, and nothing for the fund. Finances at a low ebb—I'm sure you'll understand'. *A Glasgow businessman*: '1952 was the worst for 15 years. Like many others I'm finding the problem of making a living most acute. But I wouldn't miss *L.M.*, so here's a £1 note, hoping to make up my usual donation when things improve'. *From Somerset*: 'It's been a struggle to get the 9s. but of course this situation makes it more essential than ever'. *From Wales*: 'Delayed by chronic shortness of ready money; although I'm a semi-professional worker I often have to wait months for payment nowadays'. *A Londoner* whose 'finances have seriously and suddenly diminished' has decided to share a copy with a friend. If this pinch means working out a system of sharing, then it must be done. For, as we said last month in stressing the value of library copies, the vital thing is that the *readership* should increase ever faster, even if circulation can't keep pace yet.

Overdue is the story of some of the champions among our most persistent users of the Specimen Copy Scheme; there's a good 50 whose efforts run into double figures. But no room this time, nor to do more than thank collectively those who, despite financial pressure, manage to make the January fund total

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